UNITED
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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25864
29 May 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

# LETTER DATED 25 MAY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government and further to my letters the most recent of which is contained in document S/25788, I have the honour to inform you that, at 0550 and 0602 hours on Tuesday, 25 May 1993, six Iranian F-2 warplanes carried out raids on Khalis and Jalula' inside Iraqi territory, causing large-scale material damage to a medical depot and the burning of fuel tanks in Khalis District, in addition to the cutting of electrical cables and material damage in the village of Marjanah, Khalis District. The house of a farmer in the above-mentioned village sustained large-scale damage, and his agricultural tractor was destroyed. The house of a citizen in Jalula' was also damaged.

This new aggression is part of a series of Iranian armed attacks, which I have already mentioned in my letters contained in documents S/25680, S/25679, S/25689, S/25772 and S/25788 and which constitute a clear violation of the United Nations Charter. The Security Council's failure to adopt measures to deter Iran constitutes failure to carry out its responsibility under the Charter. Moreover, the absence of any machinery at the present time for monitoring the provisions of the cease-fire established by Security Council resolution 598 (1987) and for implementing the terms of the area of separation between Iraq and Iran, following the closing of the office of the Secretary-General in both Baghdad and Tehran on 31 December 1992, undoubtedly encourages Iran's persistence in its armed aggression, since there is no monitoring, and imposes an urgent need to reconsider the question of the closing of the above-mentioned office.

The Government of the Republic of Iraq vehemently protests at this fresh Iranian act of aggression against Iraq, which constitutes a flagrant violation of Iraq's sovereignty and blatant intervention in its internal affairs.

The perpetration of this aggression was assisted by the restriction of Iraq's capacity for self-defence because of the military measures imposed on it by the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France in the form of the two no-fly zones, which restrict Iraq's capacity to take precautions against the repeated Iranian armed acts of aggression. Accordingly, these States bear the responsibility on a footing of equality with the Iranian regime.

The Government of the Republic of Iraq requests you to intervene to prevent a repetition by the Iranian side of such hostilities that are contrary to the norms of international law and the United Nations Charter and reserves its full right to defend itself by such means as it deems appropriate for protecting Iraq's legitimate rights and interests.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25865
29 May 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

LETTER DATED 28 MAY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I am pleased to transmit to you herewith the text of the statement that the delegation of my country had intended to deliver during the deliberations of the Security Council at its 3224th meeting on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammad A. ABULHASAN
Permanent Representative

Annex

Statement by Mr. Mohammad A. Abulhasan
Permanent Representative of Kuwait

By its adoption of resolution 833 (1993), the Security Council has completed a historic exercise in the creation and establishment of peace in the world and the defence of the principles of the Charter and international law, as well as the rights of both small and large States through the practical application of the concept of collective security.

It was the Security Council that initiated the rejection of the Iraqi aggression against and occupation of Kuwait through resolution 660 (1990), and it was the Security Council that subsequently launched the battle for the liberation of Kuwait through resolution 678 (1990). Thereafter, the foundations of the cease-fire following the liberation of Kuwait were laid by resolution 687 (1991). It is through the same Security Council that the boundary dispute between Iraq and Kuwait today comes to an end. Ever since it signed the Agreed Minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters in October 1963, Kuwait has constantly striven to demarcate its boundary with Iraq. To that end, it held numerous meetings with the Iraqi side, and specialized technical and political delegations visited Baghdad, but without any results, since Iraq rejected any demarcation proposed under that binding agreement. The Iraqi aggression against and occupation of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 revealed the true nature of the Iraqi dispute with Kuwait; this dispute has never been due to a difference over the boundary, but rather to ambitions regarding the very existence of Kuwait.

Security Council resolution 687 (1991), in three of its operative paragraphs, laid the legal and political foundations and provided an international guarantee for the demarcation of the boundary in accordance with the Agreed Minutes between the two States of 1963. The Security Council thus felt that the completion of the demarcation would eliminate the likelihood of a renewal of armed conflict in the region.

As you know, the Secretary-General of the United Nations accordingly established the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, which carried out a purely technical task using outstanding expertise and advanced technical means. The result of the work of this Commission has been to demarcate, for the first time, the precise coordinates of the boundary previously agreed on. The Commission has not in any way reallocated territory between the two countries, but has undertaken a task necessitated by the particular circumstances arising from the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. The results of the demarcation constitute a unique international success, in which, in the words of the Secretary-General, the law, technology, diplomacy and security have been associated.

There is no doubt that the decisions of the Commission are final, as is the report of the Commission. The boundary demarcated by the Commission is binding and guaranteed by the Security Council, and both sides, Kuwait and Iraq, are

bound thereby. We should like to stress that Iraq is bound thereby, as demonstrated by:

1. Iraq's unrestricted and unconditional acceptance of resolution 687 (1991), the expression of which passed from the Iraqi executive authority to the legislative authority as represented by the Iraqi National Assembly;

2. Iraq's unrestricted and unconditional agreement to the report of the Secretary-General of 2 May 1991 on the establishment of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission by its appointment of a representative on the Commission;

3. Iraq's full participation in the drafting of the Commission's rules of procedure regarding its proceedings, its methods of taking decisions and the issuance of its reports;

4. Iraq's participation in the voting on the decisions concerning the land boundary.

We are not surprised by Iraq's boycott of the other meetings of the Commission or by its attack on the results of the Commission's work because we know that, during the first five sessions which it attended over a period of a year and a half, Iraq did not respond to any request by members of the Commission and provided no materials, maps or documents expressing the Iraqi point of view of its boundary with Kuwait. That is not surprising, because Iraq does not want a demarcated boundary; it wants the whole of Kuwait.

From the beginning of the demarcation of the sea boundary, Iraq boycotted the meetings of the Commission. Rather than participating seriously and objectively in furthering the permanent interests of all the parties, the authorities of the Iraqi regime began to repeat claims that Iraq was being strangled and that it had been deprived of an outlet to the sea. The truth of the matter is quite otherwise. In addition to Iraq's 70-kilometre-long sea front, the boundary demarcation has guaranteed freedom of navigation to both States from Khawr al-Zubayr through Khawr Shityanah up to Khawr Abdullah to and from their territorial waters and territories along the length of the boundary, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982. This freedom of navigation is a right which may not be violated by either of the States. We here openly declare that we shall abide fully by this decision and each of its paragraphs as an inseparable part of the decisions of the Commission as a whole.

The vote by the Security Council in favour of the draft resolution is a guarantee for security and stability in this region; it is being adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter. It endorses the decisions of the Boundary Demarcation Commission, reaffirms their final character and affirms that they should be guaranteed by the Security Council by all possible means, in accordance with the Charter.

The security, integrity and independence of the State of Kuwait are an inseparable part of international peace and security. What has been accomplished by the United Nations today is not only a victory for Kuwait; it is a victory for the United Nations, for international legality and for all that is right and just in our world.

By its adoption of this resolution, the Security Council has given its blessing to the closing of a file which has long been a cause of instability and aggression in our region. We therefore express our hope that the other files arising from the Iraqi aggression may be closed, and we give warning that delays by the regime in implementing all the other obligations contained in the Security Council resolutions are in themselves a time bomb which must be watched carefully and defused.

Kuwait expresses its appreciation to each member of the Security Council and to all its friends for their vote and their support for the foundations of peace. We also wish to place on record our appreciation for the intensive efforts exerted by the Boundary Demarcation Commission, which have resulted in this historic achievement. We should furthermore like to commend the efforts being made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to make peace in our region and in the world, as well as his support for this Commission, whose example he has asked other United Nations Commissions to follow by completing their work speedily and successfully.

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25866
29 May 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

# LETTER DATED 26 MAY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALBANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour urgently to transmit to you the following.

Albania is deeply concerned about the extremely dangerous situation in Kosova. Recently the situation there has been dramatically aggravated by the increased oppression on the Albanian people of Kosova and the grave military movements in that region.

On 22 May, at 2300 hours, a grave incident happened in Gllogovc, a town of Kosova. During the night of 22 May, for 20 minutes there were shootings with various kinds of weapons. Two Serbian policemen were killed and five wounded from the attack, whose sources remain unknown. Immediately after the shootings there was a strong reaction of the police forces against the Albanians inhabiting the area. About 100 Albanians were arrested and many were severely beaten and injured during the expedition carried out immediately by great police forces. Military units soon came to enforce the emergency situation in the area, including the town of Gllogovc.

This armed incident, like similar incidents which have happened in the past, is part of the strategy of the Serbian occupation regime in Kosova aiming at compelling the Albanians there to give up their peaceful resistance and forcing them to take up their arms, thus giving the pretext to the Serbian regime to start the open conflict and massacres in Kosova.

Since 1989, when the emergency situation was applied to Kosova, a full military occupation has been existing there for more than four years. During this period the situation has been the most difficult one the Albanian people of Kosova have ever lived in. During this period, severe beating and maltreating, killing and imprisonment, torture and persecution of Albanians were carried out by Serbian military and police forces. Serbian authorities have massively dismissed Albanians and carried out dramatic discrimination against Albanians in education and health care and public services. The Serbian authorities have for years been carrying out ethnic cleansing against Albanians in Kosova. They have taken the appropriate legislative and administrative measures in order to ensure that ethnic cleansing against Albanians of Kosova should go on in hidden ways. The results of this hidden and silent process of ethnic cleansing are tremendous: more than 300,000 Albanians have been forced to leave the land of

their ancestors; a large number of Serbian colonists, coming from various territories of the former Yugoslavia, have settled in the lands of Albanians in Kosova, and these Serbian colonists are offered favourable conditions and facilities aiming at increasing the settlements of the Serbian colonists in that area. And as if all that was not enough, the Serbs have recently increased their military presence and the demonstration of force in Kosova, thus openly declaring their aim to start massive massacres against the Albanians of that region.

Intensified military movements are going on in Kosova at present, particularly in large cities and near the border with Albania. Every day, there are reports of deployment there of new Serbian military units and heavy weaponry, coming from several parts of Serbia. There has been increased activity of Serbian armed civilians and paramilitary units. Every day they provoke the Albanians, thus enhancing tensions in this region. Armed expeditions have been carried out recently by Serbian police forces throughout Kosova under the pretext of arms-searching, which has been accompanied with massive maltreatment and severe beating of Albanians. Bearing in mind this situation, it is difficult to realize the limits of the admirable patience shown by the Albanian people of Kosova until up to now.

Under these circumstances, when the tense situation in Kosova is being extremely aggravated by the increased Serbian military presence and the daily grave incidents like the recent one in Gllogovc, Albania expresses its legitimate concern about the spill-over of the bloody conflict going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Kosova. It is obvious that a conflict in Kosova would have terrible consequences for the Albanian people of Kosova, and it would be very difficult to keep it under control. The serious threat to peace and security in the Balkans and Europe is evident.

Therefore, Albania urges the Security Council, as the only international body bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take the necessary measures to prevent the conflict in Kosova. It calls on the Security Council, acting under the Charter of the United Nations, specifically under Article 34, immediately to initiate an investigation of the explosive situation in Kosova by sending a fact-finding mission there. The Government of Albania once again requests that the Security Council, in compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter, should consider the deployment, as soon as possible, of United Nations military troops in Kosova to prevent the outbreak of war in that region.

I would be grateful if you could have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Thanas SHKURTI
Permanent Representative

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25867
30 May 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

LETTER DATED 27 MAY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you that, during the period from 18 to 23 May 1993, United States aircraft continued to violate Iraqi national airspace for the purpose of surveillance and provocation.

18 May 1993

(a) Northern region: 16 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 5,000-8,000 m, centred on Mosul, Dohuk, Zakho and Amadiyah.

(b) Southern region: 50 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900-km/h and at altitudes of 7,000-10,000 m, centred on Basra, Nasiriyah, Samawah, Qal'at Salih and Busayyah.

19 May 1993

(a) Northern region: no hostile air activity was recorded in this region on this day.

(b) Southern region: 47 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 7,000-10,000 m, centred on Nasiriyah, Samawah, Basra, Qal'at Salih, Ushbayjah, Salman, Jalibah and Busayyah.

20 May 1993

(a) Northern region: 24 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 5,000-7,000 m, centred on Zakho, Dohuk, Mosul, Irbil, Tall Afar, Amadiyah and Rawanduz,

(b) Southern region: 46 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 7,000-10,000 m, centred on Nasiriyah, Samawah, Salman, Khidr, Busayyah, Artawi, Shatrah, Lasaf, Ushbayjah, Qal'at Salih and Amarah.

21 May 1993

(a) Northern region: 22 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 6,000-9,000 m, centred on Mosul, Dohuk, Amadiyah, Irbil, Zahko and Tall Afar.

(b) Southern region: 59 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 5,000-9,000 m, centred on Basra, Nasiriyah, Samawah, Qal'at Salih, Jalibah and Busayyah.

22 May 1993

(a) Northern region: 34 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 6,500-10,000 m, centred on Mosul, Irbil, Dohuk, Tall Afar, Zahko and Amadiyah.

- At 1210 hours on 22 May 1993, two United States aircraft dropped five heat flares on Badriyah, located on the public highway between Mosul and Fayidah 9-10 km south of Fayidah in Ninawa Governorate.

(b) Southern region: 44 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 6,500-9,000 m, centred on Basra, Nasiriyah, Samawah, Ushbayjah, Jalibah, Salman and Busayyah.

23 May 1993

(a) Northern region: 28 sorties, flown at 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 7,000-9,000 m, centred on Mosul, Irbil, Dohuk, Tall Afar, Amadiyah and Zakho.

(b) Southern region: 52 sorties, flown at speeds of 600-900 km/h and at altitudes of 6,500-10,000 m, centred on Basra, Samawah, Nasiriyah, Salman, Qal'at Salih and Busayyah.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/25868
31 May 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 27 MAY 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF YUGOSLAVIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I am writing to you in connection with the letter dated 14 May 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations (S/25782) addressed to you and the annexed memorandum containing the views and concerns of the members of the Security Council that are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries (Cape Verde, Djibouti, Morocco, Pakistan and Venezuela) with regard to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is deeply regrettable that that memorandum advances an erroneous appraisal of the origins of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and proposals for its resolution, which cannot unfortunately contribute to the current efforts of the international community to reinstate a just and lasting peace for its peoples. It is particularly unfortunate that such a simplistic approach is put forward by the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which, inspired by lofty ideals, has always been able to grasp the essence and underlying causes of conflicts by taking into account all their aspects.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shares the impatience and concern of the international community and the responsibility of the members of the Security Council in their endeavours to bring about an end to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region as a whole. The cessation of the hostilities and the laying down of the groundwork for a comprehensive and just solution cannot be achieved however with resort to a one-sided and biased approach.

Notwithstanding the rationale of some of the proposals put forward in the memorandum, particularly those pertaining to the need to develop a comprehensive peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building scenario, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot however accept some of the premises of the memorandum, whose main aim is to discredit the Serbian people as a whole and to condemn the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia for alleged aggression.

The views contained in paragraph 13 of the memorandum, that "Serbia had already embarked on a policy to carve out a Greater Serbia from the territory of former Yugoslavia" is a malicious concoction devoid of any factual evidence. In a defamatory attempt to blame only one side, i.e. the Serbian population, for the tragic conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authors of the memorandum are

ignoring the basic truth that is increasingly being recognized in the international community as a whole that Bosnia and Herzegovina is engulfed in a civil war between the Muslim, Serb and Croat peoples. It is particularly absurd that the Bosnian Serbs are being accused of committing aggression in their own land.

The statement "that this is not a civil war but rather is an international conflict in which a State enjoying international recognition has been subjected to external aggression" is contrary to the evaluations of the Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia as well as leading statesmen who have acknowledged that a civil war is being waged in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For its part, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its constituent republics, Serbia and Montenegro, are vitally interested and fully committed to bringing an end to war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yugoslavia has endeavoured to play a constructive role throughout the peace talks on the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is well-known that the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have played a very important role in facilitating acceptance of significant elements of the peace plan by the Bosnian Serbs. As has been widely publicized, the representatives of the Yugoslav and Serbian and Montenegrin parliaments, in their declaration of 14 May 1993, called upon the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen plan, since it provides mechanisms for the protection and safety of all Serbs.

Despite the Co-Chairmen's warnings that the lifting of the arms embargo could only further aggravate the situation on the ground in Bosnia and Herzegovina and lead to the escalation of the conflict, it is indeed regrettable that the authors of the memorandum are still considering this as a viable option. In the light of the recent inflammation of hostilities between the Croatian and Muslim sides, it is mind-boggling that anyone can opt for a lifting of the arms embargo and bringing any more weapons to the region.

Finally, it is surprising that, in assessing the situation, the authors of the memorandum failed adequately to address the involvement of Croatia, thus minimizing the participation of Croatian troops in the armed conflict and occupation of parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina adjacent to Croatia.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIC
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

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